

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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R 260619Z JUL 76  
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1363  
INFO USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 8716

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT CH  
SUBJECT: THE CURRENT STATE OF THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN

REF: (A) PEKING 1317 (B) PEKING 1290 (C) HONG KONG 6886  
(D) PEKING 363 (E) PEKING 464 (F) PEKING 483

SUMMARY: WHILE THE MOVEMENT AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING AND HIS POLICIES HAS COOLED IN THE PAST SIX WEEKS, AND THE LEADERSHIP SITUATION REMAINS CLOUDED BY KEY VACANCIES, THERE ARE CONTINUING SIGNS THAT THE CAMPAIGN IS MOVING AHEAD IN MORE SUBTLE AND LESS DRAMATIC WAYS. STILL UNCLEAR IS THE STATUS OF LAST YEAR'S CALL FOR MILITARY MODERNIZATION, BUT MEDIA TREATMENT OF THE AUGUST 1 ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY MAY CLARIFY THIS CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE. END SUMMARY.

1. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING IS NOW IN ITS SIXTH MONTH AND APPEARS TO HAVE REACHED A PLATEAU. EITHER  
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THE CAMPAIGN WILL NOW EXPAND AND FOCUS ON OTHER "CAPITALIST

ROADERS IN POWER IN THE PARTY" OR WILL INCREASINGLY BE RE-LEGATED TO A STUDY CAMPAIGN AND FADE FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE. WE FEEL, HOWEVER, THAT THERE ARE CONTINUING SIGNS THAT THE CAMPAIGN IS STILL MOVING AHEAD, ALBEIT IN MORE SUBTLE AND LESS DRAMATIC WAYS:

A. SINCE THE JULY 1 EDITORIAL COMMEMORATING THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL MEDIA HAVE EMPHASIZED THE "THREE TOGETHERS" (EAT, LIVE AND WORK WITH THE MASSES)-- THAT IS, CADRES AT THE CENTR AS WELL AS IN THE PROVINCES ARE GOING DOWN TO WORK AND RENEW CONTACT WITH THE MASSES;

B. RECENT TRAVELER REPORTS (REF A) INDICATE THAT THE ATTACKS AGAINST PROVINCIAL FIGURES ARE CONTINUING, MOST NOTABLY IN HUPEH, HUNAN, AND IN NANKING AND PEKING AUTHORITIES HAVE APPARENTLY ACTED TO RESTRICT TRAVEL TO THE PROVINCES BY FOREIGN STUDENTS FOR "SECURITY" REASONS ACCORDING TO A JULY 22 AFP REPORT;

C. A PEKING UNIVERSITY SPOKESMAN TOLD CODEL SCOTT IN MID-JULY THAT STUDENTS THERE ARE STUDYING THE IDEOLOGICAL CONNECTION BETWEEN TENG HSIAO-PING AND DISGRACED CCP CO-FOUNDER CHEN TU-HSIU AS A POSSIBLE NEW CAMPAIGN THEME (REF B)?

D. RECENT NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEADERSHIP APPEARANCES HAVE BEEN DEVOID OF TETAILED POSITION LISTINGS--A SEEMINGLY DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO AVOID IDENTIFICATION OF IMPORTANT VACANCIES IN THE BUREAUCRACY;

E. DURING THE PAST WEEK, PRC MEDIA HAVE EMPHASIZED THE RAPID GROWTH OF LEFTIST-SUPPORTED WORKERS' UNIVERSITIES; A "NEW SOCIALIST THING" OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION FAME. SUCH EMPHASIS HAS BEEN UNKNOWN IN RECENT YEARS AND MAY INDICATE THAT THE EDUCATION SECTOR IS UNDERGOING FURTHER REVISION (REF C).

WHILE THESE EFFORTS TO REVIVE SAGGING INTEREST IN THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN ARE NOT DRAMATIC, THEY NEVERTHELESS APPEAR

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TO BE AN ATTEMPT BY ITS PROMOTERS TO PUSH FORWARD AGAINST RESISTANCE BY MORE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE LEADERSHIP. MOREOVER, THE GROWING NUMBER OF LEADERSHIP VACANCIES LEFT BY THE DEATHS OF KEY FIGURES IN THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS, COUPLED WITH THE LIKELIHOOD OF MAO'S IMPENDING DEMISE, HAS INCREASINGLY COMPLICATED MOVEMENT TOWARD A STABLE POST-MAO LEADERSHIP.

2. ONE TREND TO WATCH, HOWEVER, IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH EMPHASIS ON PRODUCTIN AND AGRICULTURE MODERNIZATION IS PUSHED AS THE FALL HARVEST APPROACHES. IF ECONOMIC THEMES ARE INCREASINGLY STRESSED AND EMPHASIS ON POLITICAL THEMES IS REDUCED, THEN CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITIES MAY GRIND TO A HALT; A PROCESS VERY SIMILAR TO THE ABRUPT END OF THE ANTI-LIN PIAO/CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN IN 1974.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CURRENT STATE OF LAST YEAR'S CALL FOR MILITARY MODERNIZATION REMAINS UNCLEAR. LAST SPRING, SEVERAL WASS POSTERS (REF D) REFERRED TO TENG'S MILITARY ROLE, BUT THE OPEN MEDIA HAS BEEN CAUTIOUS IN DISCUSSING THIS CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE. WHILE SEVERAL ARTICLES IN THE RECENT PAST, PARTICULARLY A JUNE 17 KUANGMING DAILY ARTICLE AND A JULY 15 BROADCAST FROM LHASA, HAVE CRITICIZED TENG FOR HIS EMPHASIS ON WEAPONS AND OVERRELIANCE ON FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY, WE STILL DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF WHERE THE MILITARY MODERNIZATION PROGRAM STANDS. WE CAN POSSIBLY LOOK FORWARD TO SOME CLARIFICATION IN THE UPCOMING EVENTS AND ARTICLES THAT WILL BE COMMEMORATING THE 49TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY ON AUGUST 1.

4. WE WILL ALSO BE CLOSELY WATCHING MEDIA COMMENTARY OF UPCOMING ANNIVERSARY DATES OF MAJOR EVENTS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION--SUCH AS MAO'S AUGUST 5, 1968 "BOMBARD THE HEAD-QUARTERS" POSTERS AND THE FOUNDING OF THE RED GUARD MOVEMENT ON AUGUST 18, 1968--IN AN ATTEMPT TO GUAGE THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF THE ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN.

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